

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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-----046669 181942Z /50S
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 00754

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MIRV VERIFICATION (SALT TWO-1574)

REF: A. STATE 013371 B. SALT TWO-1569

1. PURSUANT TO PARA 4 OF REFTEL A, DELEGATION PROPOSES
FOLLOWING LANGUAGE FOR AGREED STATEMENT:

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT WITH RESPECT TO THOSE ICBM
AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE MODIFIED, CONVERTED, OR
CONSTRUCTED AFTER THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY,
NEITHER PARTY SHALL DEPLOY A MISSILE NOT EQUIPPED WITH
MIRVS IN A LAUNCHER WHICH IS NOT DISTINGUISHABLE BY
EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE FEATURES FROM ANY LAUNCHER OF
A MISSILE EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, NOR SHALL EITHER PARTY
DEPLOY A MISSILE EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS IN A LAUNCHER
WHICH IS NOT DISTINGUISHABLE BY EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE
FEATURES FROM ANY LAUNCHER OF A MISSILE NOT EQUIPPED
WITH MIRVS.

2. HOWEVER, DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT RECENT SOVIET AC-
CEPTANCE OF US JOINT DRAFT TEXT POSITION ON MIRV VERI-
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FICATION (REFTEL B) PROVIDES SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF
ISSUE. (THIS ACCEPTANCE WAS MADE FORMAL BY SOVIETS BY
TABLING IN PLENARY TODAY.) ACCORDINGLY, DELEGATION DOES
NOT BELIEVE IT IN US INTEREST TO PURSUE ISSUE. REASONS
FOLLOW.

3. NEGOTIATING RECORD IS SATISFACTORY AS IT PRESENTLY
STANDS:

(A) SOVIETS HAVE WITHDRAWN JDT FOOTNOTE TO ARTICLE V WHICH STATED THAT LAUNCHERS AT DERAZHNYA AND PERVOMAYSK ARE OF TWO TYPES, ONE MIRV AND ONE NON-MIRV.

(B) SOVIETS HAVE AGREED THAT ALL LAUNCHERS AT D&P WILL COUNT UNDER ARTICLE V (WHICH LIMITS NUMBER OF MIRV LAUNCHERS).

(C) SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO COMMON UNDERSTANDING REFLECTING THIS UNDER PARAGRAPH II.5, WHICH DEFINES MIRV LAUNCHERS AND SPECIFIES TYPE RULE.

(D) SOVIETS HAVE FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MINUTEMAN LAUNCHERS ARE OF TWO TYPES, MM II AND MM III (AND NUMBERS IN DATA BASE WILL ATTEST TO THIS).

4. DELEGATION RECOGNIZES THAT NEAR END OF PREVIOUS SESSION SOVIETS CONTINUED TO STATE THAT LAUNCHERS AT D&P ARE OF TWO TYPES, ONE MIRV AND ONE NON-MIRV, AND RESISTED US PROPOSAL FOR COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY BE CONSIDERED ONE TYPE. HOWEVER, DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT AFOREMENTIONED FORMAL NEGOTIATING RECORD PROVIDES ADEQUATE BASIS FOR SUPPORTING CONCLUSION THAT SOVIETS, FOR PURPOSES OF TREATY, ACCEPT APPLICABILITY OF TYPE RULE TO LAUNCHERS AT D&P. THUS US HAS DESIRED PRECEDENTS FOR TYPE RULE, AND, SECRET

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BY AVOIDING EXPLICIT DEFINITION OF "TYPE", RETAINS FLEXIBILITY AS TO CRITERIA TO BE USED FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE CHALLENGES CONCERNING LAUNCHER TYPE.

5. IN CONNECTION WITH APPROACH SUGGESTED REFTTEL A, DELEGATION BELIEVES FOLLOWING:

(A) SOVIETS HAVE COME FAR TO SATISFY ESSENTIALLY ALL US REQUIREMENTS FOR MIRV VERIFICATION. INTRODUCING AN ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT AT THIS POINT ("ANOTHER SHOE") COULD CAUSE SOVIETS TO QUESTION WHETHER US IS IN FACT NEGOTIATING IN GOOD FAITH.

(B) CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF MIRV VERIFICATION ISSUE COULD LEAD TO REOPENING OF QUESTIONS (SUCH AS D&P AND MALMSTROM) NOW SATISFACTORILY SETTLED.

(C) A COLLATERAL CONSTRAINT (OR COUNTING RULE) FOR THE FUTURE BASED ON EXTERNAL APPEARANCE IS NOT DESIRABLE. IT COULD LIMIT US FLEXIBILITY IN POSSIBLE FUTURE CHALLENGES, AND HAS ADDITIONAL DEFINITIONAL PROBLEM: APPEARANCE TO WHOM? IN EFFECT IT MAKES MEANING OF A TREATY PROVISION DEPENDENT ON RESOLUTION OF OVERHEAD PHOTOGRAPHY OF OTHER

SIDE. FURTHER, IT COULD REQUIRE US (IF IT MODERNIZES ITS FIXED ICBMS) TO MAKE UNNECESSARY MODIFICATIONS TO CERTAIN OF ITS MINUTEMAN LAUNCHERS IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE COUNTING NON-MIRV MINUTEMAN LAUNCHERS AS MIRV. FINALLY, CRITERION OF EXTERNAL APPEARANCE WOULD NOT BE FOOLPROOF; EXTERNAL DIFFERENCES WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE RELATED TO MIRV CAPABILITY.

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6. SIMILARLY, DELEGATION BELIEVES IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO PURSUE OTHER APPROACHES SUCH AS ATTEMPTING TO GET SOVIETS TO ACKNOWLEDGE LAUNCHERS AT D&P ARE OF ONE MIRV TYPE, OR PURSUING QUESTION OF "UNIQUENESS" OF D&P. ARGUMENTS OF 5(A) AND 5(B) ABOVE APPLY HERE ALSO. FURTHERMORE:

(A) SOVIETS ARE UNLIKELY TO ACKNOWLEDGE EXPLICITLY THAT LAUNCHERS AT D&P ARE OF ONE TYPE WHILE AGREEING THAT MINUTEMAN LAUNCHERS ARE OF TWO TYPES.

(B) PURSUING "UNIQUENESS" OF D&P WOULD ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT CONTRARY TO OUR INTERESTS, BASED ON DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES RATHER THAN ON "TYPE" OF LAUNCHERS. ALSO, LIKELY SOVIET RESPONSE WITH REGARD TO UNIQUENESS IS THAT UNIQUENESS CONCERNS MIXED DEPLOYMENT FIELDS RATHER THAN APPEARANCE OF LAUNCHERS.

7. SHOULD SOVIET DELEGATION ASSERT AGAIN THAT LAUNCHERS AT D&P ARE OF TWO TYPES, WE WOULD OF COURSE CHALLENGE. ALSO, IT WILL BE DESIRABLE SUBSEQUENTLY TO REVIEW AGAIN

THE NEGOTIATING RECORD IN LIGHT OF SOVIET DATA BASE FIGURES
AND ANY OTHER RELEVANT DEVELOPMENTS.

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8. IN SUM, DELEGATION RECOMMENDS US CONSIDER MIRV VERI-
FICATION ISSUE TO BE RESOLVED, BARRING FURTHER MOVES ON
PART OF SOVIETS. EARLE

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